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A
SERMON

Preach'd at

OXFORD,

BEFORE

Sir Will. Walker,

MAYOR of the said

CITY;

Upon the 26th. of July 1685:

Being the Day of

THANKSGIVING

For the

DEFEAT of the REBELS

I N

Monmouth's REBELLION.

By Charles Allestree, *A. M.* and Student of
Christ-Church.

OXFORD, Printed for *Henry Clements*, and Sold by
Joseph Hindmarsh, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Cornhill* over
against the *Exchange* 1685.

SERMON

OXFORD

St. Will. Walker

LAYOR of the CHURCH

OTTY

London (1883)

THANKSGIVING

DETAIL of the REBELLION

REBELLION

By Charles Walker, A.M. and Minister of
Christ Church

OXFORD: Printed for A. & C. Black and Co. Ltd.
at the University Press, 1883.

Judges 5. 31.

And the land had rest forty years.

The whole verse runs thus,

*So let all thine enemies perish, O LORD:
but let them that love him, be as the
sun when he goeth forth in his might.
And the land had rest forty years.*

IT is very easie for any Man, that considers the context of these words, and the story upon which they are founded, to foretel the series of my ensuing Discourse, and to recollect in his mind both the subject matter that arises naturally from hence, and also to surmise the distinct sort of prosecution, which at this time, upon this *solemnity* and *occasion*, I intend to make: For whoever surveys the passages in this History and compares them with the particulars of our late UNNATURAL REBELLION, will find such an Harmony and Agreement, such a futable Resemblance

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in every leading and preparatory circumstance, that the same Trouble of representing the Affairs of one WAR, will be a compleat draught of all the occurrences of the other; And as the parallel runs exact in most of the great Lines of both these *Invasions*, so I trust, by the mercy of God) the event will be answerable in all points, and prove so too, that our *Land* as well as *Palæstine*, upon this *Miraculous* and *providential* Defeat of our Enemies, may find the blessing annext here in the Text, of obtaining REST for FORTY YEARS.

In this chapter *Deborah* and *Barak* are making an ἁντίκλον, a Song of Victory to the most High God, for the deliverance of *Israel* from the calamities of War, from the danger of falling under a *forreign Yoke*, and of being oppress'd by an *insulting, and devouring Enemy*. Here we may observe *Sisera*, captain of the Host of *Jabin*, King of *Canaan*, the irreconcilable enemy of *Israel*, bidding defiance to the *Israelites Army*, and invading the country with such powerful Forces, as on the one side gave certain hopes of victory and success to the Aggressors, and threatened no less, on the other, than an utter Ruin and Extirpation both of the *People* and their *Government* for ever. For the
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preparations (which *Sifera* made against this expedition) seem'd so formidably great, and consisted of such vast Numbers of *Experienc'd* and *Disciplin'd* Men, that He bore himself above *Danger* and *Opposition*, and look'd for no more trouble in the Conquest of the *Land*, than the *Fatigues* of an *Orderly March* could put him to.

Even the Mother of *Sifera* was so confident of her son's Triumph, that she only waited for an express of the News of it; She did not in the least doubt of the event of Battle, or think that it could possibly be determin'd otherwise, than on her Sons side; She knew his strength, the courage of his Souldiers, and the Conduct of their Leader, and therefore only wish'd for the *Time* of *Action*, and to hear of the Engagement, being possess'd with a strong Belief, that *Conquest* must follow on course, and attend the *Victorious Arms* of her Son: In her Richest Ornaments and best Attire, she staid at a convenient distance from the *Camp*, expecting *hourly* to be brought to share in the solemnity of the Triumph: She look'd out at the Window, and cry'd through the Lattess, why is his chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the wheels of his chariots? Have they not sped? Have they not divided the

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prey,

prey, to every man a Damsel or two? to Sifters a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of Needlework, of divers colours of Needlework on both sides, meet for the Necks of them that take the spoil? v. 28. 30.

So that you see the great thoughts, and the swelling expectations, they had conceiv'd of their Armies success, and that they dream'd of nothing but *Laurel* and *Conquest* and so be invested in the full spoils of the Israelites. All the Advantages that the prospect of victory could lay before them, was the sole entertainment of their thoughts. The *Slaughter* of their *Enemies*, the *Plunder* of *Cities*, the *Rape* of *Women*, and the *Slavery* of *Captives* was the common discourse & expectation of these *Invad-ers*, and animated them with vigor and resolution to maintain the Fight:

And yet if we advert to the end, we shall find the discomfiture of these Forces, the Army shatter'd and defeated, and the *General* flying in a poor disguise, in a habit beneath the dignity of a private Souldier, shifting for himself in *Woods* and *Lanes*, and *secret Rescesses* enduring the hardships of Hunger and Thirst, depriv'd of sleep and all the conveniences of Life, and supplicating at last at a *Lonely house* for a cup of Water

to cool his *Natural Thirst*, and to refresh his Spirits with a draught of moisture and sleep. To that distress was this *Mighty General* reduc'd, that He who, some hours before, had all the stores and provisions of the Country at his command, and the *richest pavilion* in the Camp to rest in, with his *Troops* and *Guards* about him for his Protection, look'd now upon the offer of a little Milk, upon the Accommodation of a *private lodging*, and the promise of a Woman's attendance, to be not only the greatest kindness and relief to him in his distress, but also the best security to his Person, as he lay down to take his Natural rest and refreshment.

And yet as miserable and as deplorable as his condition really was, it could not move any pity, or procure any commiseration to his Person; The remembrance of his preceding cruelties, and the sense of the miseries He intended to have acted upon *Israel*, extinguish'd compassion, and left no room for the common effects of Humanity, so that the invitation of *Jael*, who diverted him from the *Road*, into her *House*, prov'd a snare to him; She fully resolv'd upon his *Ruin* and *execution*, and by one Generous stroke to revenge the disturbance he had brought

brought upon the Children of *Israel*; neither the softness of her Sex, nor the tenderness of her Nature could restrain her hands from acting an *Holy violence*, or from assaulting the Person with Death, that design'd her Countries slavery; she knew, that all *Rebels* and *Invasers* have lost their natural Right, and forfeited the protection of those *Laws* which they come to subvert and destroy; She knew, that in *Extraordinary cases*, every Person, of what ever sex, is oblig'd to turn both *Judge* and *Executioner* too, of their enemies, and that nature invests Mankind with as much Authority over the lives of *Rebels* and *Invasers*, as over Wolves and Tygers and other Beasts of Prey; and that we ought to embrace the first occasion to hunt and pursue 'em to Death; because in these Instances, every delay of Justice, or Dilatory expectation of a legal Process, may be dangerous, and expose the Government to a second *shock*. For the flight or escape of an *Arch-Traytor* (which cannot by any method of restraint so effectually be prevented as by Death) may enable him to prosecute his pretences again, and animate him with more Vigor to attempt a second Tryal, and to revenge the disgrace of his former miscarriage;

Guided

Guided therefore by this principle, and moved by an Impulse from Heaven, *She took a hammer; She put her hand to the nail, and her right hand to the workmans hammer: And with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote off his head, when she had pierc'd and stricken thro' his Temples. At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down: at her feet he bowed, he fell, where he bowed, there he fell down dead.* v. 26. 27.

Thus was the end of *Sisera*; the calamity he intended to bring upon others, was executed upon himself, and return'd upon his own head; He died Ignominiously, and perish'd by the weak hand and instrument of a Woman; and (as it ever happens in all Routs and Disorders) left his Souldiers scatter'd and divided in such small parties in the Country, that they became an easie prey to their Adversaries, and were slaughter'd without making any considerable resistance or defence.

When this Heroick exploit was wrought, and Vengeance fully taken upon *Sisera*, *Jael* stood openly at the door; and was prepar'd both to observe the *Flight* and *pursuit* of the enemy, and also to receive the *Addresses*, and *Congratulations* of the Israelites for her service: She saw the *Troops* and the *Chariots* flying, and the

promiscuous *Havock* and *slaughter* that was made of the enemy ; And tho' this indiscriminating way of destruction might tend in some measure to the establishment of peace again, and be a *Political means* to restore the happiness of *Israel*, yet still she knew, that the Glory of putting an end to all *Future Fears*, was her work alone, and solely to be ascrib'd to her *Magnanimity* and *promess*. For what advantage can it be to a Nation, to destroy barely the *common herd* of Souldiers, whilst the *chief Captain* is escap'd in safety, and remains *alive*, to take all opportunities of renewing his pretences again, and fomenting the causes of War hereafter ? The security of *Publick peace* consists principally in the death of him, whose Authority began and commenc'd the *Invasion*, and whose *Popularity* and *Interest* prevail'd upon others to espouse and abet his cause with the utmost hazard of their lives ; Now this political safety was wrought by her and perfectly accomplish'd in the destruction of *Sisera* ; and yet to make the security more lasting, and to engage the protection of *providence* over the Nation, for the future, She calls *Barak*, the son of *Abinoam*, to share in the joy, and to return *Thanks* to Heaven for the *deliverance*. She shews him the

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Trunk and body of *Sisera*, and relates the *Holy Arts* she us'd to abuse his credulity, and bring him absolutely under her own power; And when all the History was finish'd, and a full contemplation taken of *God's miraculous providence* in this Victory, *Barak* jointly with *Deborah* (who at that time judged *Israel*) makes a solemn Form of Thanksgiving and Address to the Lord for his *Mercies*; And 'tis observable that this return of praises, this *National acknowledgment* procur'd the Blessing, which is mention'd here in the Text, *That the land had rest forty years.*

By the word *REST*, is understood a freedom both from Forreign and Domestick enemies. For tho' in this place it is occasionally mention'd, as an Issue flowing from the defeat of Forreign Forces, yet it must comprehend and take in the other sense also. For if a respite from *Civil War* was not equally meant, as well as an universal peace abroad, what advantage could it be to the *Israelites* to be freed from the *Invasion* of their *Neighbours*, and yet be up to the ears in Blood themselves, and be cutting one anothers Throats at home: It would be the exchange of one misery for another of a more dreadful and afflicting nature;

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so that in short by REST I understand an uninterrupted enjoyment of peace.

I.---From these words I shall first treat of the happiness, which peace in general brings to a Nation.

II.---Secondly, I shall represent the great advantages of enjoying peace for so considerable a Duration, as the space and compass of FORTY YEARS amounts to.

III.---And lastly, I shall discover by what means this Blessing of seeing *Publick* peace entailed upon us and convey'd down to posterity, may best be attain'd; and that is by returning *Praise and Thanksgiving* to God for every remarkable Instance of his providence, and more particularly for every great deliverance which he has wrought for a Nation.

But before I proceed upon these Heads, I shall crave leave to shew the concurrence of our REBELLION with this which I have describ'd to you from my Text; and shall examine by the way the reasons and pretences that gave Birth and Growth to it; and in this prosecution I shall tye my self up to the method of tracing it in these several parts of *Resemblance*, both in the formidableness of the *Invasion*, the greatness of our enemies hopes, and their utter defeat at the last.

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We are assembl'd here, in obedience to our SOVERAIGNE's command, and in pursuit of his *pious inclinations* to render our utmost tribute of *Praise* and *Adoration* to Heaven, for the *signal deliverance* which God has been pleas'd to vouchsafe this Nation, and for the *mercy* of rescuing us from the miseries of a *Civil* and *Intestine war*: A War, that in all appearance seem'd to have been contriv'd for the destruction of all that is *dear* to us, and to have involv'd us all in *Rapine* and *Blood*: A War, that shak'd not only the Foundations of our Religion but (what was coequal to Christianity it self) our MONARCHY too, and was rais'd by SONS of BELIAL to have extinguish'd this glory of our ISLE, this race of HÆREDITARY MONARCHS, and the light of the Gospel also: A War, that was undertaken upon such *colourable pleas*, and carried such visible danger along with it, that not only the *present Age* but *future Generations* were likely to feel the Bloody effects of it, and *Unborn Children* might hereafter have been made sensible of it's Rage, and have been subject to the dismal consequences of it: A War of the greatest Horror and Dread that ever History could give an Instance of, or our own apprehensions frame

an *Idea* off; For so violent were our *Inflamations* at home, occasion'd by the false suggestions of an *Unruly* and *Fanatical* party, so much heighten'd and improv'd were our discontents by these Mens industry and care, and so conscious were the fugitives abroad of our distractions, and of the good affection the *Multitude* bore to their cause, that they presum'd on Victory, and did not on the least question that success would crown their enterprize. Their expectations were rais'd to that *pitch*, that in all their debates they had not any apprehensions of being defeated, but their discourse was founded upon the supposition of the ruin of the *Government*, and so their thoughts were wholly employ'd in the contrivance and choice of a new *Frame* or *Model* to be erected in it's stead. For when the two GRAND REBELS had concerted their measures, and agreed upon the *INVASION*, they neither of 'em imagin'd, that in the several Kingdoms where they resolv'd to *Land*, they should meet with such opposition from the King's Forces, as should be sufficient to retard their *progress*, or make any compitent head against them; No, they swallow'd that point, and took it for an indisputable proposition, *that the present Establishment*

blissment must expire and end. All their debates in Council rested upon this complex Question, *whether Monarchy should be totally abolish'd, and a new Commonwealth created upon it's Ruins?* And tho' their divided Interests would not suffer them to come to a full resolution in the matter, and they left the dispute to be decided by a conference hereafter, or (what is more likely) by the Sword, yet their deportment evinces the great assurances and hopes, and the full perswasion, they had of success. For tho' this subject was not adjusted betwixt them, yet they center'd in this resolution to attempt the *Invasion*, and make a *descent* upon this *Island*, in several places at once, that so the *King's Forces* might be distracted, and their friends have an opportunity of coming with ease amongst them, and joyning one of their Armies which would have been a difficult task to men in remote places, had there been but one ARMY in the *Field* to invite and receive them. And yet this cautionary method did not so much argue distrust and fear as prudence; For they could not be so divested of common reason, as to think that a whole Nation would run mad together, and as well vacate their *Oaths of Allegiance*, as cancel all those other obligations,

gations, which the endearments of our SOVERAIGN's Reign have laid upon us; some shew of *resistance* they could not choose but apprehend, and think that the principles of Loyalty, which the *Church of England* teaches, would unavoidably detain her *True sons* under strict sense of Duty and obedience to their Prince. However the numbers they dreaded of this sort were infinitely overballanc'd by the prospect of all the *divided Sects* and *Malecontents* flowing into their Army: So that, in much confidence, they undertook with all the Mercenary powers, they could collect abroad, to hasten to Sea, and begin their Voiage not doubting but, upon their first appearance upon *Englisb-ground*, and Publishing a *Declaration* of the Reasons and Motives that induc'd them to COMBINE, Ten thousands of *unwary People* would have been prevail'd upon to joyne in the same *Cause*, and assist them with their utmost *might* and *endeavours*.

And indeed there were two pretences started, which being adverted to, and suppos'd to be the real truth, would have prov'd of more moment and advantage to the *late TRAITOR's* cause, than all the succors he brought along with him. The first was the common pretext
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of protecting Religion, which tho' it never did nor ever can advance a *Rebellion*; yet never fail'd of being made use of to this purpose in every *Civil War* that has been commenc'd in a *Christian* society. And the second was, the pretext of *Title and Proximity of Blood*.

Now these two considerations are very great *Incentives*, and are apt in their own nature to engage Mankind upon very violent courses for the preservation of em: For what would not people that have a zeal for God's worship, and an honour for the *Royal stock*, be inclin'd to do, to secure the purity of *Religion*, and to maintain the *Descent of the Crown* in the *Right Line*? And yet (as I said just now) Religion is the worst thing in the World to countenance or support Rebellion: All it's precepts being of a direct contrary tendency, and enjoyning us Obedience to the *Supream powers* under no less penalty than eternal damnation. And Christ who refus'd to have his person defended by violence, will not surely have his Religion propagated by such means.

But however granting that Men might lawfully take up Arms for the maintenance of the *True Religion*: yet, even upon this supposition, No man can be authoriz'd to raise *Rebellion* in these

these Kingdoms. For has our RELIGION been in the least danger of being invaded or snatch'd from us? Do we not enjoy it, and are we not likely to have it continu'd in all it's *essential purity*, and *primitive Holiness* to our posterity for ever. Have we not the free use of the *Sacraments*, and all the *Ordinances* of God uncorrupted for the assistance of our Devotion, and for the *enlivening of our Faith*? And have we not the promise of our King for the continuance of these *spiritual enjoyments* to us? Of a KING, that never had the imputation and scandal of breaking his Word, or dealing *un-sincerely* in any Instance of his Life? This is so remarkable a Character, and so peculiar to his Majesty, that even his Adversaries had never impudence enough to assault him with this *charge*, or to deny him the honour of being always *Just and true to his engagements*. We cannot therefore have any colour to doubt of the continuation of our Religion, or suspect the faithfulness of that DECLARATION, which of his *meer Grace* and *voluntary motion*, he was pleas'd upon his first coming to the CROWN to make to his *Honourable Privy Council*, and renewed again in the same Terms in a greater solemnity, before the *Three Estates* assembled

asssembled in *Parliament*. Can any thing be more irrational and absurd, than to entertain an opinion, that He who in private, betwixt himself and some *Humble petitioner*, has ever prov'd punctual and observant of his Word, should now at the last turn inconstant to his ancient course, and violate his *Faith* to a Nation, when the whole Kingdom would become witnesses of his *falsehood* and upbraid him with *perjuration*? Such a dishonourable carriage on our parts would not only be a diminution of that *Respect*, which this Nation has ever been us'd to return their *Respective Monarchs*, but it would be senceless & ridiculous in it self, and contradict the common rules of reason.

And yet if Men will be hearkning to their own suggestions of fear, and study their own disquiet so much, as to distrust every promise, and conclude it *vain and elusory*, because it is possible it might have been given with an intention to *deceive*, yet there is one unerring sort of Tryal, one way of exploring Truth and convincing our selves, and that is by a continu'd *Series and Flux of TIME*. For those that will not at first give *credit* to a *bare asseveration*, must believe the reality of that *Mans intention*, that made it, when there is nothing done in the

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Revolution of time, but what strengthens and confirms it: Now we have had half a years experience of our KING's government over us, have had leisure enough to observe the Justice of his Reign, and find all events answerable to his first Assertion, that HE WOULD MAKE IT HIS ENDEAVOUR TO PRESERVE THIS GOVERNMENT BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE, AS IT IS NOW BY LAW ESTABLISH'D.

For have not all the Vacancies, that belong to the disposal of the CROWN been carefully fill'd and supply'd with Men of *Great learning and Abilities* to support our Religion, of *Great zeal and inclination* towards it, and whose secular Interest is *inseparably* bound up in the preservation of it? And can there be any surer Argument of the KING's *sincerity*, than his readiness to make choice of such *instruments* to fill the vacant places in the Church, who are every way qualified to maintain the *Establish'd Religion*, both in their Abilities, and willingness of mind, and also are prompted to it from the consideration of their own *Temporal Concernments*? All arguments conspire for a sure belief of the KING's resolution to keep inviolably his WORD, and there neither is nor can be any

any single instance produc'd to weaken or invalidate the credit of it.

So that granting we might fight for our Religion, if it was in danger of being lost, yet no man upon this Plea, can be justify'd in his attempts upon the present constitution and Government, and it is surely much better and more agreeable to the precepts of *Christianity*, to sit still, and enjoy it with *content and Thankfulness*, than by engaging in Rebellion to lose and destroy it. For that would certainly have been the Issue, and we could have had no Religion at all, had God, in punishment to this Nation, suffer'd the *late Rebellion* to have been prosperous and successful. For what Religion could HE have been suppos'd to have been zealous for, who had so far debauch'd the *natural light of his conscience* as to esteem *Adultery and Rebellion* to be no sins? I grant that, in a *sudden Transport*, men may sometimes be hurried upon the commission of ADULTERY, and yet, upon a *serious and particular repentance*, be reconcil'd to the *Church*, and prove very good Christians again; But He, that in his cooler thoughts, at the last Hour, with all his senses entire, and the full use of his judgment, shall undertake to palliate the sin, or extenuate the

guilt of it, is in a fair disposition to receive any Religion, and may easily be brought to embrace the ALCORAN, and exchange *Christianity* for *Mahometism*. So that if *Religion* can at any time bear mankind out in opposition to the *Higher Powers*, it would with much more reason have justified us against the late REBEL's claim and pretensions, even allowing his Title to have been just ; But indeed our *Divine institution* can do no such thing, it is as far from giving Indulgence to invade any Man's *Right* or *Property*, as it is from excusing any seditious practice against a Lawful Governour: tho' it must necessarily have oblig'd us to have resisted his Usurpation upon another score, upon the account of the *Insufficiency of his Title*, which comes next to be consider'd.

Now this is a subject which has been search'd to the Bottome, and examin'd ABOVE with all the fairness of procedure imaginable, in a *Venerable, Just* and *August* consistory of men: And as it has been rejected there upon a serious and Impartial enquiry, as *Fabulous* and without *Ground*, so no doubt but, upon a rational discourse, it will appear so to every considering man. For First I will take these *Two preliminaries* for granted ; That every Father has a greater

ter tenderness and affection for his *Son*, than his *Brother* ; especially if there be no disobedience in his *Child*, nor any deformity in his Person to alienate his Love from Him ; And Secondly, I shall suppose, that it tends more to the Honour of a Father to have his Kingdom descend directly down upon his Son, than to demise it to a Brother or to any *Collateral branch* of His family.

Now these things being premis'd, it is very obvious to recollect that never *Father* lov'd a *Son* with greater passion and tenderness, than our late most excellent *Sovereign* did the *Duke of Monmouth* ; and never any man had stronger Reasons, or more forcible Inducements to engage his love ; For the *personal qualifications and address* of his Son, the *filial Duty and respect* he always us'd to return in his Younger years, were so many motives to extort the utmost Tribute, which nature in this kind, could pay ; so that the KING grew lavish and profuse in his bounty, He heap'd honours upon him, and loaded him with riches, and not only advanc'd him as high as 'twas possible for a *subject* to be promoted, but (what was infinitely above all honours) gave him the first place in his affection : And when his Kindness had fix'd him in
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that station of Grandure, as to render him popular and courted by a *Faction*, when he presum'd by the instigation of his party to lay claim to the Crown, and assert his *Legitimacy* by the promiscuous mouths of the Rabble, and caus'd it to be whisper'd abroad, that there were not only witnesses, but *Records under band and seal* of his Mother's Marriage to the King: His Majesty (out of a just regard to the sacredness of Truth, and without diminishing his love to him) did not only declare upon the word and honour of a Prince that there never was any contract of Marriage betwixt Him and the said Duke's mother, but summon'd the pretended witnesses before him in Council, to speak their knowledge, and give in their evidence concerning the matter in question; Now they all of 'em severally disclaim'd the knowledge of any such thing, or the being conscious of any *Records* that could attest it, and only said that their names were abus'd for the support of a Lye, without their *privity or consent*. And this transaction, and the King's positive Averment was enroll'd in all the Courts of Record in *Westminster*, with the hands and attestation of every member of Council at the bottom of it.

Now this Affair was transacted at a season,
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and in such a Juncture, when the KING had been several years married to the *Queen* without any hopes of Issue by *Her*. So that if truth had been industriously conceal'd and stifled at first for the better facilitating the treaty of Marriage, and for the removing the impediments, that might obstruct this *Illustrious Princess* her consent to the Alliance, because upon such a discovery her children must have been postpon'd, and allow'd to have only a secondary relation to the CROWN, yet now it might have been own'd and publickly avow'd without any detriment or damage to her Interest; and yet notwithstanding this favourable conjuncture, and the extraordinary kindness of the KING towards him, his *Legitimacy* is disclaim'd, and absolutely deny'd with the solemn protestations of his *Father*; which is an undeniable evidence, that these were the words of soberness and truth; deliver'd purposely by that ADMIRABLE PRINCE to prevent the effusion of blood, and the great slaughter of Men, which must unavoidably follow the belief of starting of such a title. Nay even MONMOUTH himself no more believ'd that he was the *lawful son* of the late KING, than any man of this Auditory, or I that am arguing for the truth against this opinion;

nion ; For in his Letter to our present SOVERAIGN (which you may find attested by the hands of two Reverend Bishops, and other worthy divines of the Church of *England* Men of such approv'd integrity and sincerity that they cannot be suppos'd to cheat the World with a Lye) he voluntarily declares, that his Father assur'd him, that He never was married or promis'd in marriage to his Mother.

Now what clearer proof or demonstration can be offer'd to invalidate the belief of this man's right to the Throne, than to have his *Legitimacy* disown'd by himself, and protested against by his Father, at a time when he lov'd him above all wordly enjoyments, and could receive no possible advantage by concealing the secret, and keeping it from the knowledge of the World ? And yet the matters are thus clear, and 'tis evident beyond dispute, that RELIGION cannot justify REBELLION, neither had MONMOUTH any sort of right to the *Imperial CROWN* of this *Realm*, yet we know what a dangerous and formidable Rebellion was lately rais'd in the Western parts of this Kingdom upon no other ground, but the impudence of imposing these two falsehoods upon the World. Some people even against demon-

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stration, will have that which makes for their Interest, and suits best to their inclinations, pass for truth; or at least they will lay hold of it and embrace it as such, because it may contribute to promote their Revenge and Ambition, or advance some other secular concernment: So that when the *misguided Prince* had suck'd in these false principles, and landed in the *West* to make good his claim, his Abettors flock'd to him in so great shoals & numbers, & saluted him with such chearfulness and acclamations of joy, that in a very little time he grew so strong, that neither he nor any of his followers dreaded the event of War, or apprehended a defeat of so numerous a body of Men, of proportionable courage and Resolution; They presum'd at first on victory, and thought their own strength sufficient to conquer and overthrow the opposition of their enemies; and yet they had such moral assurances of new supplies, and so great an expectation of their *Forces* being multiply'd, and encreas'd with the *additional succours and Auxiliaries* of Men, that would be induc'd to follow their example, that they turn'd their thoughts to the consideration of dispensing Rewards, and dividing the great Offices of state amongst themselves. To this stupendious height was their confidence advanc'd! and in all probability it had not been a vain or an impracticable supposition, had not the KING in his wisdom provided for the preservation of his *Throne and Person* by securing, under *strict guards and restraint*, all those *disaffected Citizens*, whose principles and discontents render'd them justly suspected and obnoxious to the Government, and by this *providential policy* cut off the supplies of money, which was secretly conveyed through their hands, and transmitted for the assistance of the Rebels, and for the maintenance of the War. (And by the way I cannot but observe that all those persons who in other places were thus confin'd and imprison'd

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son'd for a time, are infinitely oblig'd to his Majesty's goodness and care, for using this compendious method to secure them from the Temptation of running into Rebellion, ruining their Families, and damning their own Souls for ever.) When therefore the source that fed this REBEL-LION was stop't, when the Nerves and sinews of War were shrunk, and monies fell short in the Camp, they then resolv'd, by one bold attempt, to attack the ROYAL ARMY, and by the advantage of a *surprise* to force their way into some other Country for Relief and Assistance: Now this contrivance was form'd with so much Art, and manag'd with so much Dexterity, Prudence, and Conduct, that had not God interpos'd, and miraculously baffl'd them with his own mighty hand, more visibly than by any *Humane power or strength*, they had not only made themselves masters of the *Field and Cannon*, but had ravag'd the Country, seiz'd the *Richest spoiles and Treasure* of the Camp for their Booty, and all the Ensigns of Honour had been so many Trophys of their victory. But *o Deus unigenitus*, the Providence of God disappointed their designs; the Stars in their course fought against *Sisera*, and even as inconsiderable and as unintelligent creatures lent their Aid, and contributed to the overthrow of our Enemies; For their Horse were not able to sustain the Onset, or bare the discharge of a *Volley* without confusion and disorder; but fled upon the first shock, leaving their *Infantry* expos'd to several varieties of death, which were justly inflict'd upon them without Discrimination or Mercy.

Even the GENERAL himself, upon this discomfiture consult'd his safety by Flight, and attempted his *escape* in such an ignominious Habit, that he appear'd really in outward shew, to be of that Low Rank and Order of Men, to which the hainousness of his crimes had degrad'd him, and the justice of the Laws condemn'd him to be fore. He try'd

try'd Two days the extremity of Fortune, and was not only divested of Friends, but depriv'd even of the common sustenance of Life, Sleep and Necessaries. He durst not venture himself abroad into the hands of *Ingenious men*, being press'd down with the load of his own Guilt, and fortified against a surrender of himself by the greatness of the Reward, that his head was pris'd at ; But chose rather to abscond himself in *Thickets and Woods*, and to relieve his hunger with *Peascods and green Fruit*, than to expose himself to the mercy of a People, whom he had justly provok'd to the highest degrees of *Outrage and Violence*; When he had languish'd in this condition, and fed upon *Bare Nature* so long, that he groan'd under more *Corporal weaknesses and Agonies of mind* than the purchase of a Kingdom could recompence, He was at last seisd by the vigilance of the Soldiery, and conducted safe to the *Royal presence*, being insensible of his Guilt and offering no manner of excuse for the *Cruelty of his Invasion*: The *Sentence and Doom* he receiv'd here was proportionable to the greatness of his crimes ; for tho' it was circumstantiated with Mildness, in regard to the honour of his *former Quality*, yet death being the end and satisfaction of the Law, and every man measuring the Ignominy of it by the crimes that produce it, and his Treasons being of the deepest Dye, we may pronounce that he dyed with more Shame and Disgrace than *Sisera*, being made a spectacle to the World, and falling by the Hands of a publick executioner at last ; *And so let all thine (AND THE KING'S) enemies perish, O LORD: but let them that love him be as the sun, when he goeth forth in his might. And the land had rest forty years.*

From these words I propos'd first to treat of the Happiness, which PEACE in general brings to a Nation.

I.---Now I shall no further prosecute this subject, or handle it in any larger method, than as it is introductory

and leads me to the consideration of my next Head; because it is so plain and evident in it self that it needs no *Illustration or proof*. Every man will allow, that PEACE has the same important influence over the *Body politic*, as *Health & vigor of Constitution* has over the *Natural one*. Without it no enjoyment can be relish'd, no pleasures tasted, no Innocent Friendship or conversation delighted in, but even those things, which otherwise would prove the most grateful Accomodations to the palate, become nauseous or Insipid. And is not mankind exactly in the same case, for all manner of enjoyments, amidst the Noise and Rumours of War? How are the *Generous and Great Spirits* (that spend themselves and their stock too in the improvement of the publick) sunk at the News, and let fall their endeavours, since the next Victory may ravish the Glory of their work from them, and render it either a *prey to the Conquerors Avarice*, or a *Victim to his Superstition*? How visibly, in such a juncture, is Generosity and Charity check'd and discourag'd? since the next *decisive Battle* may not only alienate the Revenue it self, but possibly erase the name, and make the memory of the *benefaction* to be lost too: How deserted and unimprov'd lye all the Arts of Trade and Husbandry? how visibly must prodigality be advanc'd? and the concerns of Families neglected? because it is evidently the same thing in effect to enjoy no stores or provisions at all, as to see 'em either Plunder'd from 'em in the *Barn*, or trodden down in the *Field* before Maturity: the same thing for mankind to leave no estate behind 'em for their children, as to see it violently seis'd before their eyes, and taken possession of by *Rebels and Strangers*: nay more, how dangerous and suspected doe even our Friendships, in the time of *civil War*, become? For no man can have such an assurance in another, but he may reasonably fear that some Temptation may prevail

prevail upon him to betray and Sacrifice his Friend, and to the confidence, he suppos'd in him, may turn his snare and Ruin; In short, not only our *Temporal enjoyments* but even our *Spiritual concerns*, *Religion* suffers and almost expires in the heat and fury of a *civil War*; But in the Affluence of peace, we may (like the Israelites in *Goshen*) enjoy a *cheerful serenity*, and participate of all the *Desirable blessings* that God and Nature can furnish us with, whilst all the World around us is in *Darkness and Confusion*. The *Land* prospers and flows with *Milk and Honey*, *Commerce and Trade* are improv'd, the reputation of a Nation exalted, the Sacred person of our KING rever'd at home, and ador'd abroad for his *Grandure and Magnificence*, the honour of God & *his Religion* promoted, and the great business of *Devotion* carry'd quietly on without interruption or molestation; and in fine all the blessed advantages, that tend either to render us happy here or hereafter, lye before us. PEACE therefore being so great a Blessing in it's *consequences and effects*, I shall, in the Second place, recount the happiness of a Nation, that is posses'd of it for the space and compass of FORTY YEARS.

II.----Forty Years is not only a very great period of our Time, but has, ever since the flourishing of the *Patriarchs* been esteem'd the most considerable portion of Man's life, in any Climate of the World; It must needs therefore be acknowledg'd a Blessing, deserving our utmost thanks, to enjoy this long series and succession of Time, in a constant serenity of Peace without any molestation of War to conquer or pall the enjoyment of it. For whoever duly considers the time of Infancy, and observes how little obnoxious those tender years are to the impressions either of *private calamities or publick sorrows*, must abstract from the Computation all *Minors or children* under the Age of discretion, and date the beginning of his account from the expiration

expiration of Sixteen years at the least : (for before the completion of that time, no person can in a due measure contemplate his own sufferings, or be truly sensible of the miseries of State) and from thence measuring the compass of Forty years, the sum reaches to the period of a Man's ordinary Age, or at least it brings him to that height and degree of it, which by the constitutions of all Kingdoms upon earth, is dispens'd from *Military Service*, and exempted from *Attendance in War*: So that, in this sense, the bestowing of PEACE for Forty years, is in effect the granting a lease of it for a Man's whole life.

But since *Number* it self is not *Infinite*, much less so inconsiderable a quantity of it, and Forty years of Peace must speedily be run out and swallow'd up in War, let us consider the great Advantages that this PRO-MISE brought to the publike, or to a new Race of men under other circumstances, that did not share the full time of peace, nor knew the beginning of it's Reign, and let us examine the great reason, which they had to value the happiness of so many Halcyon days, as had elaps'd over the Nation before their Birth.

Now we know that the Israelites were a sort of people that wander'd in the Desert, and for some time had no fixt or certain habitation to reside in; And even the *Country* which they did possess at last, was of a very narrow compass and extent, easily travel'd through in a few days *March*, and as easily measur'd with the Number of a few *Paces*. They were surrounded on all sides with enemies, and they that hated them were their Neighbours; They had no *Garrisons* or *Frontier Towns* either to defend their Boundaries, or enlarge their Borders: And as they did thus lye open to the encroachments of every *Intruder*, so they never were freed from the *Incurfions* of their enemies without a particular Miracle and Providence of God; and 'tis

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observable that they lost more men in their *Engagements*, and in disputing their Spot of Ground, than any of the *Four Monarchys* of the World ever lost at a time in a *single pitched Battle*; and these *Encounters* came so frequent and so thick upon them, that it is deservedly esteem'd a Miracle, that they were not dispeopled and brought to *extinction*. Is it not therefore, judging by all *Humane measures*, a vast happiness to a Nation in these circumstances, to be freed from the *Terrors and destruction of War*, and to enjoy peace and plenty for so considerable a season, as might enable 'em to repair their Losses with a new race and production of Inhabitants, and give 'em time by *Natural causes* to encrease to that degree of strength, as should empower them to oppose and repel the force of their *Enemies*. So that certainly upon this consideration, upon the account of the growth and Peopling the Land again, it was an inestimable Blessing to obtain the security and promise of Rest for Forty years.

And is our condition so distinguishable in this particular from the children of *Israel*, that Rest of the same duration will not be equally as great a kindness, and lay as universal an obligation upon us, as it did upon them? Have we not the like reason to rejoyce upon the same confidence and assurance, being seated in a Climate so desirable, as invites not only the Visits, but the Depredations of our Neighbours? Do's not the Richness of our Soil, the Fruitfulness of our Land, and the Treasures of the Inhabitants become a Temptation for the *Inrodes of Invaders* from abroad, or for the Assaults of Domestick enemies at home? Is not the happiness of this *Island* such an Invitation to Ambition, as Beauty is an *allurement* to a Rape? And have we not been so constantly harass'd, and almost dispeopled with War, that in all the History of *England*, for the space of Six hundred years and upwards, ever since
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the CONQUEST, there has not been so long a *Vacation*, as to comprehend the space of half this time, and give us a succession of PEACE for Twenty years together? But either *Intestine broils* have disturb'd our Rest, or *Forreign Invasions* call'd us to the vindication of our Honour, and to the Defence of our *Country*, by the *Swora*. Have we not reason therefore to lay hold of the promise of Rest for Forty years, and to embrace it with all the joyfulness imaginable, and diligently enquire after the Means of attaining and securing it? which I told yee, in the last place, was to be accomplish'd effectually by returning *Praise and Thanksgiving* to God, for every *Signal Deliverance* which he has been pleas'd to vouchsafe to a Nation.

III.---Now it is highly reasonable upon this Account, because in all victories God has not only a signal share and part in the purchase; but some there are so miraculously atcheiv'd, and wonderfully wrought, that the whole operation is solely to be ascrib'd to his immediate power and efficiency, and not to any *humane policy and Conduct*. And of this Nature was the Deliverance which we commemorate this day, being visibly effected by his *Mighty hand and outstretch'd Arm*. We know that in all *Engagements*, the Glory of a Conquest (however purchas'd) is ever imputed to the Bravery of the *General*, that commanded and led the Souldiers on; And surely in a Christian State we ought to advance the glory higher, and refer it solely to God, who in a peculiar manner is stil'd The LORD OF HOST: Now this *standing Appellation* of Honour, which he has been pleas'd to give himself, was not barely a Temporary title, appropriated to the constitution of the Israelites, because he *personally* led them to War, fought their Battles, and govern'd them by a THEOCRACY, but is adapted to the state and condition of all the EMPIRES upon earth, because in every Country, he do's in

an eminent manner preside and Govern all Occurrences of War ; And his providence, in no Instance of Humane Affairs is so visible as in the Disposal of the events of Battle. *Not unto us therefore, not unto us but unto thy Name be all Honour and Glory.*

But the Best way to raise our *Gratitude* proportionable to the Deliverance, is to take a Prospect and full view of the Complication of Miseries, which the mercy of God has releas'd us from.

Now what a Load and oppression of Grief must there needs have been upon the Spirits of the present Generation of Men in the late REBELS success. In that nothing that was *Sacred*, nothing that was *Dear*, nothing that was *innocent*, could have been suppos'd to have remain'd inviolated in his prosperous and Triumphant Rebellion. *Majesty* it self and the *Royal Dignity* must have been Sacrific'd, and troden under Foot: All the Religious parts of our Devotion would have been prostituted to His, and his *Accomplices* superstitious Avarice; The Revenue of the Church must have been alienated, and made an *Oblation* to his greedy *Appetite and Sacrilegious Desire*. All the properties of the Subject would have been expos'd, and lain wholly at the mercy of these *Invaders*. The Liberties of a Free-born People would have been Subject to his Arbitrary Will and pleasure ; and in short the *Lives and Fortunes* of all English-men had been absolutely dependant upon the Breath of his mouth, and, what is more, all these Miseries would have been entail'd upon *Future Generations*, and plagu'd Posterity for a succession of many Rowling years together.

—And shall not we in the lowest posture of Devotion and Humility, think our selves oblig'd to return our *Thanks* to Almighty God, that the *Breath of our Nostrils*, the *Anointed of the Lord is not taken in the Pit that was pre-*
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par'd for him, but is escap'd as a Bird from the snare of the Fowler? Shall not our Gratitude rise in some Degree to Proportion to the sense we conceive of the greatness of a Blessing? And shall not our Breasts be fill'd with true Motions of the *Deliverance*, and express it's motions in a laudable Return of *Praise and Thanksgiving*, for all the Mercies that he has shew'd to *Israel*, and the wonders he has wrought for his Servant *David*?

Let then the meditation and Reflexion upon these Calamities, which by a *Signal providence* we have escap'd, excite in us a hearty *Thanksgiving* not only for this *Deliverance*, but also for all the *Publick Mercies* which *Goodness* has pour'd down upon this Nation.

To him therefore, who is the *Giver of all Victory*, ascrib'd all *Glory and Honour*, from this time forth and evermore,

FINIS.